

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /145 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 113

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

US LIAISON OFFICE SACLANT WASHDC

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1872

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-MARCH 18-22

SUMMARY: SOVIETS MADE MAJOR EFFORT THIS WEEK TO REACH AGREEMENT
ON KEY PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS WITH NO MENTION
OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. PROCEDURAL COMPROMISE NOW EMERGING WHEREBY
FORMULATION ON PEACEFUL CHANGE WILL BE DRAFTED ON A SEPARATE
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PIECE OF PAPER, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WHERE IT WILL APPEAR IN

FINAL LIST OF PRINCIPLES. IN FIRST MAJOR INDICATION OF PROGRESS ON FREER MOVEMENT SUBJECTS, HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ITS TEXT ON FAMILY VISITS. USDEL WORKED TO ENCOURAGE PROGRESS ON BOTH INVIOABILITY AND BASKET III (HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION) ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

1. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--DESPITE CONTROVERSIAL NATURE OF PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, DRAFTING IS MOVING FORWARD, A TREND USDEL IS TAKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO ASSIST. SOVIETS TENTATIVELY ACCEPTED WATERED-DOWN LANGUAGE ON TERRITORIAL CLAIMS WHICH WOULD EXCLUDE ONLY CLAIMS WHERE VIOLENCE IS IMPLIED. UNDER THIS LANGUAGE PARTICIPANTS WILL NOT MAKE "DEMANDS DIRECTED TOWARD SEIZURE OF PART OR ALL OF THE TERRITORY OF ANY PARTICIPATING STATE". PRINCIPAL REMAINING PROBLEM IS PLACEMENT OF LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE. SOVIETS REJECT INCLUSION OF THIS LANGUAGE IN INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE, BUT MANY WESTERN DELEGATIONS ARE STILL INSISTING THAT IDEA OF PEACEFUL CHANGE BE REFLECTED IN THIS PRINCIPLE. AT WEEK'S END COMPROMISE BEGAN TO EMERGE UNDER WHICH A SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE WOULD BE DRAFTED ON A SEPARATE PIECE OF PAPER AND AGREED NOW, TO BE INCORPORATED INTO LIST OF PRINCIPLES LATER. UNDER THIS COMPROMISE DECISION ON WHERE THIS SENTENCE WOULD APPEAR WOULD ALSO BE TAKEN LATER. USDEL AND OTHERS SUPPORTED THIS DEVICE AS MEANS FOR FINDING A SOLUTION. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ITS FIRST AGREED LANGUAGE--A VAGUELY WOODED SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

2. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED HEAVILY BRACKETED TEXTS ON EXCHANGES OF OBSERVERS AND ON ALL BUT ONE ASPECT OF NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO RESOLVE CONFLICTING PROPOSALS AND THESE ARE SIMPLY LISTED SIDE-BY-SIDE WITHIN BRACKETS. ON QUESTION OF NOTIFYING MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, SOVIETS REFUSED TO REGISTER EVEN FULLY BRACKETED ALLIED AND NEUTRAL PROPOSALS AND ARGUED THAT SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD DO NO MORE NOW THAN RECORD CONCLUSION THAT TIME NOT RIPE FOR DECISION ON MOVEMENTS AND THAT FURTHER STUDY OF PROBLEM NEEDED. US REMAINED SILENT ON THIS ISSUE.

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3. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT--COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEES WERE BOTH BOGGED DOWN ON DIFFICULT ISSUES OF ECONOMIC DATA AND BUSINESS INFORMATION. HUNGARIANS FINALLY TABLED NEW PROPOSAL WHICH MAY OPEN WAY TO SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE, BUT INCLUDED NOTHING ON BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DATA. SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON ALL BUT TWO "AREAS FOR COOPERATION", BUT ELSEWHERE MOVEMENT WAS SLOW, AS ROMANIANS AGAIN USED DELAYING

TACTICS.

4. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--DUTCH AGAIN BLOCKED PROGRESS ON BASKET III PRAMBLE, DESPITE ENERGETIC EFFORTS OF OTHER WESTERN DELEGATION. SOVIETS APPEAR TO APPRECIATE GENERAL WESTERN EFFORTS TO BRING DUTCH TO MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE, AND WIDESPREAD FRUSTRATION MAY PRODUCE INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP TO RESOLVE PROBLEM NEXT WEEK. MEANWHILE, HUMAN CONTACTS SUB-COMMITTEE PROVISIONALLY AGREED ON A POSITIVE TEXT COVERING FAMILY VISITS. THIS IS THE EASIEST PART OF THE FAMILY PACKAGE, HOWEVER, AND COMPROMISE TOOK THREE WEEKS OF EXTENSIVE EFFORTS. IN INFORMATION A COMPROMISE TEXT COLLAPSED WHEN THE SOVIETS RETREATED FROM THE FEW COMPROMISES WHICH HAD BEEN WORKED OUT. FRENCH PROPOSALS ON CULTURE CAME UNDER FIRE FOR UNDUE EMPHASIS ON EUROPEAN COOPERATION WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS EXCLUDING NORTH AMERICAN PARTICIPATION. UNDER STRONG PRESSURE, FRENCH ARE MAKING SOME MODIFICATIONS IN THEIR PROPOSALS. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, SOVIETS DISPLAYED SOME FLEXIBILITY AND PROSPECTS APPEAR GOOD FOR EARLY AGREEMENT ON UK/US PROPOSALS ON ARCHIVAL ACCESS AND INTERNAL TRAVEL. SOVIETS FORECAST NEW AND MORE "ENERGETIC" APPROACH TO BASKET III SPECIFICS NEXT WEEK, BUT BARRING MIRACULOUS PROGRESS LESS THAN 50 PER CENT OF TEXTS WILL BE COVERED BEFORE EASTER BREAK.

5. COMMENT: THE SOVIETS MOUNTED A MAJOR EFFORT THIS WEEK TO REACH EARLY AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS WITH NO MENTION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO CLARITY OF THIS CONCEPT, SOVIET DELEGATION EXHIBITED CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY, AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE ON TERRITORIAL CLAIMS WHICH EXCLUDES ONLY CLAIMS "DIRECTED TOWARD SEIZURE" SURPRISED MANY WESTERN DELEGATES. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO STATED REPEATEDLY THAT PROGRESS ON BASKET III SPECIFICS WILL BE FORTHCOMING ONCE THE INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN AGREED.
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BUT WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS ALL REALIZE THAT INVIOABILITY IS THE HIGHEST-PRICED ITEM IN THE SALE, AND MANY ARE UNWILLING TO LET IT GO WITHOUT ADEQUATE COMPENSATION. THEIR IDEA IS TO USE INVIOABILITY FOR LATER TRADE-OFF, AND THIS HAS PRODUCED CURRENT TUG-OF-WAR.

6. THE EMERGING COMPROMISE UNDER WHICH A SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE WOULD BE AGREED ON A SEPARATE PIECE OF PAPER WOULD ESSENTIALLY GIVE SOVIETS WHAT THEY WANT, SINCE IT WOULD REPRESENT TACTICAL ACCEPTANCE THAT CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE WILL BE SEPARATED FROM INVIOABILITY CONCEPT AND PLACED ELSEWHERE IN LIST OF PRINCIPLES. USDEL HAS ENCOURAGED ALLIES TO ACCEPT THIS SOLUTION, BUT HAS TOLD SOVIETS THAT ONLY SIMUTANEOUS PROGRESS ON BASKET III SPECIFICS CAN ENSURE WESTERN ACCEPTANCE. END COMMENT.DALE

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